

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 079059
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 SIG-03 MMO-01 CU-04 BIB-01 HA-05 SOE-02
AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-08 DOE-15 INT-05 OMB-01
OES-07 STR-07 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 /151 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPE: W H DAMERON:CFS
APPROVED BY EUR: RDVINE
EUR/RPE: A C ALBRECHT
EB/ORF/FSE: G A ROSEN
EPA: E COTSWORTH
EUR/RPM: J KORNBLUM
IO/IEP: L KAHN
S/P: P KAPLAN
OES/ENP/EN: H SPIELMAN
EUR/SOV: J TREICHEL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL NATO CAPITALS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 079059

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC, PARIS ALSO FOR USOECD

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PAGE 02 STATE 079059

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, EEC, ECE, SENV, ENRG, XH

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIONS WITH ALLIES ON BREZHNEV CONFERENCE
PROPOSALS

REFS: (A) GENEVA 3349, (B) BRUSSELS 4648, (C) GENEVA 4080
(D) BONN 4809, (F) COPENHAGEN 1854, (F) GENEVA 4407

1. SUMMARY. THE CENTRAL FOCUS AT THE APRIL 11-21 ECE PLENARY IN GENEVA WILL BE ON THE BREZHNEV PROPOSAL FOR A HIGH LEVEL MEETING (HLM) ON THE ENVIRONMENT, AND THE SOVIETS WILL ALSO BE PUSHING FOR CONFERENCES ON ENERGY AND TO A LESSER EXTENT TRANSPORT. THE DEPARTMENT IS REPEATING TO RELEVANT ADDRESSEES TRAFFIC YOU HAVE NOT ALREADY RECEIVED ON THIS SUBJECT. THE U.S. HAS CONSULTED THROUGHOUT THE BELGRADE PROCESS, IN NATO AND WITH THE EC PRESIDENCY AND THE EC COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS IN AN ATTEMPT TO REACH SOME COMMON WESTERN POSITION PRIOR TO THE SESSION. GIVEN THE DIVERGENT VIEWS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, THIS MESSAGE REPORTS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND REQUESTS THAT ACTION ADDRESSEES APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK SUPPORT ON REACHING SOME DEGREE OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE PARAMETERS OF THE WESTERN POSITION. WE ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN CLARIFYING U.S. POLICY TO MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WILL DECIDE ON ITS POSITION AT THE

APRIL 4 FOREIGN MINISTER'S COUNCIL. WE ARE REQUESTING A PARALLEL APPROACH AT NATO. END SUMMARY.

2. TRANSPORTATION. THE PROPOSED TRANSPORTATION CONFERENCE HAS LITTLE SUPPORT; AND WE ASSUME THAT THERE IS AGREEMENT
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PAGE 03 STATE 079059

AMONG THE ALLIES THAT ANY MOVE TO PURSUE SUCH A HLM WILL NOT PROGRESS TO THE SERIOUS DISCUSSION STAGE.

3. ENVIRONMENT. THE POSSIBILITY OF A HLM ON THE ENVIRONMENT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL WITHIN THE ECE OVER THE PAST YEAR, AND EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANOVNIK HAS FULFILLED HIS MANDATE FROM THE LAST PLENARY BY RECOMMENDING, ON THE ADVICE OF MEMBER GOVERNMENTS, TOPICS WHICH MAY MEET THE STRICT CRITERIA ESTABLISHED. IT IS THE U.S. POSITION THAT AT LEAST ONE SUCH TOPIC -- TRANSBOUNDARY AIR POLLUTION (TBAP) -- SUBSTANTIALLY MEETS MOST OF THE CRITERIA. LAST YEAR'S PLENARY ESTABLISHED THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA FOR ANY POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENT MEETING: A PRECISE AND CAREFULLY PREPARED AGENDA; A SUBJECT MATTER REQUIRING HIGH-LEVEL REPRESENTATION; A MEETING HOLDING "PROMISE OF IMPORTANT DECISIONS"; THAT TOPICS UNDER CONSIDERATION BE OF CONCERN TO THE REGION AS A WHOLE; AND THAT ANY MEETING NOT LEAD TO UNNECESSARY DUPLICATION OF THE WORK OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. THE SESSION AGREED TO QTE CONSIDER CONSTRUCTIVELY AT ITS THIRTY-THIRD SESSION, IN THE LIGHT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S REPORTS AND AGAINST THE CRITERIA SET OUT EARLIER IN THIS RESOLUTION, THE HOLDING AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE OF SUCH A HIGH-LEVEL MEETING UNQTE. GIVEN THIS WORDING, AND OUR POLICY THAT ONGOING AREAS OF COOPERATION WITH THE EAST SHOULD BE PURSUED WHERE THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES FOR TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO THE U.S.

(IN THIS CASE THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT), THE U.S. CAN SUPPORT A DECISION IN PRINCIPLE TO HOLD A HLM MEETING ON THE ENVIRONMENT, SUBJECT TO VARIOUS SAFEGUARDS, EXTENSIVE PREPARATION, AND REVIEW AT NEXT YEAR'S PLENARY. OUR BASIC POSITION HAS BEEN CONVEYED TO THE EC COMMISSION AND THE DANES IN THEIR EC PRESIDENCY CAPACITY (REF: A) AND CIRCULATED AT NATO.

4. FYI ONLY. U.K. (AND POSSIBLY OTHER COUNTRY) RESERVA-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 079059

TIONS ABOUT THE TBAP TOPIC HAVE REPORTEDLY PREVENTED THE EC PERM REPS IN BRUSSELS FROM RECOMMENDING THAT THE EC FOREIGN MINISTERS SUPPORT A DECISION IN PRINCIPLE TO HOLD AN ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING. IN AN APPROACH TO THE DEPARTMENT (EUR--GOODBY) ON THE POSSIBLE ENERGY CONFERENCE (SEE BELOW) U.K. REPS (WHO SAID THEIR APPROACH WAS " IN CONFIDENCE), NOTED THAT HMG SOMEWHAT LESS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENT MEETING THAN U.S. SEEMS TO

TO BE, AND CITED IN PARTICULAR PROBLEMS WITH FRAMEWORK CONVENTION BEING PUSHED BY NORDICS AND STANOVNIK ON TBAP. U.K. REPS SAID IT APPEARED THAT ONLY NORDICS WERE ACTIVELY INTERESTED IN THIS SUBJECT. DEPARTMENT OFFICER WHO ATTENDED RELEVANT ECE MEETINGS WHERE ENVIRONMENT TOPICS ADDRESSED COUNTERED THAT TO CONTRARY, ONLY U.K., AND TO LESSER EXTENT PERHAPS FRG, HAD SO FAR EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS. IN ADDITION TO CITING OUR GENERAL POSITION ON POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENT MEETING, (REF A AND PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE), GOODBY SAID THAT U.S. RECOGNIZES THAT MANY COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S., HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ENVISAGED BY THE NORDICS AND STANOVNIK. HE NOTED THAT THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE ADDRESSED IN THE PLENARY ITSELF, IN THE EXTENSIVE PREPARATORY WORK THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR A HLM, AND DURING THE 1979 REVIEW OF ANY DECISION IN PRINCIPLE TO HOLD A MEETING. END FYI.

5. FYI ONLY. THE EC HAS, PRESUMABLY FOR POLITICAL REASONS (I.E. CONCEDED SOMETHING WITHOUT SUBSTANCE) SUPPORTED OVER THE PAST YEAR A SECOND TOPIC FOR AN ENVIRONMENT HLM-- LOW- AND NON-WASTE TECHNOLOGY. IN ADDITION, IT NOW APPEARS THAT THERE MIGHT BE CONSENSUS FOR YET A THIRD OF STANOVNIK'S RECOMMENDED FIVE TOPICS -- TOXIC WASTES. CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 079059

THESE ADDITIONAL TOPICS WOULD DIMINSH THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING MEANINGFUL RESULTS IN THE TBAP FIELD, AND THIS MIGHT BE THE REASON FOR THE INTEREST IN SO MANY TOPICS AMONG EC-NINE MEMBER COUNTRIES. END FYI.

6. THE U.S. HAS CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED THAT THE LOW-AND NON-WASTE TECHNOLOGY SUBJECT IS NOT RIPE FOR A HLM, AND AS THE ONE MOST SOUGHT BY THE EAST) IS AN ATTEMPT BY THEM TO OBTAIN WESTERN TECHNOLOGY EASILY.

7. THE POSSIBLE THIRD TOPIC (TOXIC WASTES) IS EVEN LESS ATTRACTIVE TO THE U.S. STANOVNIK'S RECOMMENDATION ON THIS SUBJECT ADDRESSES BOTH TOXIC SUBSTANCES AND TOXIC WASTES. THE WESTERN COUNTRIES HAVE OPPOSED TOXIC SUBSTANCES, GIVEN DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER FORA IN THE WEST ON THIS SUBJECT AT THIS TIME. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE EC AGREES, AND WOULD PROPOSE TO LIMIT THE TOPIC TO TOXIC WASTES ALONE. THE U.S. STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT TOXIC WASTES IN NO WAY MEETS THE CRITERIA ESTABLISHED AT THE LAST PLENARY, AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THIS SPHERE TO DATE HAVE NOT PROGRESSED TO THE POINT JUSTIFYING DISCUSSING IT AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. IN ADDITION, THE ISSUE IS BEING ADEQUATELY ADDRESSED AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL (SUCH AS THE BALTIC AREA DUMPING CONVENTION) AND

DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE OF INTEREST TO THE REGION AS A WHOLE. THE U.S. CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT ONLY ONE TOPIC -- TBAP -- MEETS THE ESTABLISHED CRITERIA. MOREOVER, TO INSURE CONCRETE RESULTS -- OUR CONDITION FOR AGREEING TO A MEETING -- WE WOULD OPPOSE A VACUOUS MULTIPLE-TOPIC MEETING.

8. U.S. VIEWS ON MODALITIES FOR ANY ENVIRONMENTAL HLM HAVE BEEN CONVEYED TO THE EC -- REF A -- AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT EC OPINIONS ON THIS SUBJECT CLOSELY PARALLEL OURS -- REF B.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 079059

9. ENERGY. FYI ONLY. SIGNALS ON THE VIEWS AMONG THE NINE ON A POSSIBLE ENERGY MEETING ARE MIXED. THE FRG HAS YET TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS WITHIN ITS OWN GOVERNMENT (REF D). THE U.K. HAS NOW EXPRESSED INTEREST IN A POSSIBLE ENERGY MEETING. THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT, AT LEAST IN PART, THE SUDDEN BRITISH INTEREST (AND REVERSAL OF PAST POLICY) TO BE MORE FORTHCOMING ON ENERGY IS A TACTIC DESIGNED TO SHIFT ATTENTION FROM OR SUBSTITUTE FOR A POSSIBLE MEETING ON TBAP. ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS, THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON APPROACHED THE DEPARTMENT "IN CONFIDENCE" TO EXPLAIN ITS VIEWS AND SEEK U.S. REACTIONS. U.K. REPS SAID THAT HMG IS NOW FAVORABLY INCLINED TO CONSIDER POSITIVELY AN ENERGY MEETING (WITH ADEQUATE ECE SAFEGUARDS) AS A MEANS OF OBTAINING MORE INFORMATION FROM THE EAST. GOODBY REPLIED BY GIVING OUR CURRENT THINKING ON POSSIBLE ENERGY HLM (PARA 10 BELOW).
END FYI.

10. ENERGY HLM MUST BE EXAMINED IN BOTH TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL (CSCE) CONTEXTS. WE INFORMED ALLIES AT BELGRADE THAT IF CONSENSUS DEVELOPED WITHIN ALLIANCE (SPECIFICALLY THE EC-NINE) TO RECOMMEND CONSIDERATION OF ENERGY HLM TO ECE, WITH ALL APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS, U.S. WOULD NOT HAVE BLOCKED SUCH A MOVE, VIEWING IT (AS DID OUR ALLIES) AS CONCESSION WEST COULD MAKE IN RETURN FOR SOMETHING FROM SOVIETS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT BELGRADE. BUT CSCE CONCLUDED WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE IN FINAL DOCUMENT TO PROPOSED BREZHNEV CONGRESSES -- AND WITHOUT APPROPRIATE CONCESSIONS FROM THE EAST. EXAMINING POSSIBLE ENERGY HLM ON ITS OWN MERITS, U.S. STILL FAILS TO SEE ADVANTAGE TO WEST IN CONCEDING TO SOVIETS THE MEETING THEY WANT THE MOST. WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT SOVIETS WOULD
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 079059

NECESSARILY BE ANY MORE FORTHCOMING WITH INFORMATION. IN FACT, IN EUROPEAN ENERGY BALANCE STUDY NOW UNDERWAY IN ECE, SOVIETS HAVE BEEN NOTICEABLY RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE REQUIRED DATA.(FYI ONLY. GOODBY HINTED, WITHOUT BEING EXPLICIT, THAT CARROT OF ENERGY HLM MIGHT BE USEFUL TO HOLD IN RESERVE IN POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH 1980 MADRID CSCE CONFERENCE. END FYI.) NEVERTHELESS, IF EC-9 AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE MIGHT RESULT IN TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO THE WEST SUFFICIENT TO OFFSET CONCESSION WE WOULD BE MAKING TO MOSCOW POST-BELGRADE, U.S. WILLING TO HEAR THEIR ARGUMENTS AND REEXAMINE MATTER.

11. ACTION REQUESTED. DRAWING ON THIS MESSAGE AS NOTED BELOW, ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS TO CONVEY U.S. POSITION. USING TEXT IN QUOTES IN REF A, EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS (EXCEPT COPENHAGEN) SHOULD LEAVE WRITTEN OUTLINE OF U.S. POSITION ON POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENT MEETING,"IN CONFIDENCE." HOST GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON U.S. POSITION WOULD BE WELCOME. MORE SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR EACH MISSION GIVEN BELOW.

12. FOR USEC. PLEASE THANK COMMISSION OFFICIALS FOR THEIR FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE SO FAR AND WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. IN ADDITION TO POINTS ALREADY MADE IN INFORMAL PAPER LEFT WITH COMMISSION PRIOR TO MARCH 13 EC PERM REPS MEETING, MISSION REQUESTED TO CONFIRM TO COMMISSION AND DANISH EC PRESIDENCY REPRESENTATIVES THAT U.S. UNDERSTANDING OF EC VIEWS ON POSSIBLE TRANSPORTATION CONFERENCE IS ACCURATE (AS OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH TWO) AND TO RELAY U.S. POSITION (WITHOUT CITING U.K. APPROACH TO US OR POSSIBILITY OF USING SUCH A HLM AS INCENTIVE FOR MADRID) ON ENERGY CONFERENCE, AS SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPH TEN ABOVE. DRAWING ON PARAGRAPHS SIX AND SEVEN, MISSION REQUESTED TO REITERATE U.S. CONCERNS ON ADDITIONAL TOPICS UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 079059

EC. YOU MAY INFORM THEM WE HAVE MADE SIMILAR APPROACH TO DANISH PRESIDENCY IN COPENHAGEN AND TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES.

13. FOR COPENHAGEN. YOU SHOULD MAKE SAME POINTS TO DANES, IN THEIR EC PRESIDENCY CAPACITY, AND INFORM THEM THAT WE HAVE MADE A SIMILAR APPROACH TO COMMISSION AND IN EC MEMBER STATE CAPITALS. YOU MAY ALSO SAY THAT WE ARE INFORMING OTHER NATO ALLIES OF OUR POSITION.

14. FOR LONDON. PLEASE EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION TO U.K. FOR INFORMING US OF ITS CURRENT THINKING ON THE HLM'S. YOU SHOULD REPEAT TO HMG IN LONDON WHAT WE TOLD U.K. REPS HERE ON ENVIRONMENT (PARAGRAPHS FOUR, SIX AND SEVEN) AND ENERGY (PARAGRAPH 10) MEETINGS. EMBASSY SHOULD AGAIN REITERATE THAT TBAP TOPIC COULD RESULT IN VALUABLE INTERCHANGE AND THAT RESULT OF DISCUSSION COULD HAVE MANY POSSIBLE OUTCOMES, NOT ONLY CONVENTION AS PUSHED BY NORDICS AND STANOVNIK. U.S. DOES NOT BELIEVE

THAT SPECIFIC CONCERNS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF POSSIBLE TBAP HIGH-LEVEL MEETING SHOULD PREVENT WEST FROM AGREEING TO TAKE DECISION IN PRINCIPLE AT ECE PLENARY, SINCE INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THIS FIELD HAVE REACHED POINT WHERE HLM COULD BE GENUINELY BENEFICIAL. PLEASE INFORM HMG THAT US LOOKS FORWARD TO DISCUSSING DETAILS OF POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING WITH U.K. BEFORE, DURING AND AFTER PLENARY.

15. FOR BONN. GIVEN CURRENT STATE OF FRG POSITION -- OR LACK THEREOF -- ON ENERGY HLM, EMBASSY SHOULD CONFINE REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT TO NOTING THAT U.S. DOES NOT AT PRESENT TIME SEE ANY TANGIBLE BENEFIT FROM MAKING
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 079059

THIS CONCESSION TO SOVIETS, BUT THAT IF EC-NINE DECIDE DIFFERENTLY, WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING THEIR VIEWS. YOU MAY CITE ARGUMENTS (PARAGRAPH 4) WE ARE MAKING IN LONDON RE POSSIBLE TBAP TOPIC AT ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING (WITHOUT MENTIONING OUR TALKS WITH U.K. IN WASHINGTON), AND NOTE IT COULD HAVE VARIOUS OUTCOMES OTHER THAN COMPREHENSIVE CONVENTION FAVORED BY NORDICS AND STANOVNIK. YOU MAY SAY WE ARE CONVEYING OUR GENERAL VIEWS ON CONFERENCES TO COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS, DANES IN PRESIDENCY ROLE, AND OTHER EC MEMBER CAPITALS, AND ARE ALSO INFORMING NON-EC ALLIANCE MEMBERS OF OUR POSITION.

16. FOR DUBLIN. PLEASE CONVEY OUR GENERAL POSITION AS

WE WILL BE PRESENTING IT TO EC COMMISSION AND NOTE WE ARE MAKING SIMILAR APPROACHES IN OTHER EC CAPITALS, TO DANES IN THEIR PRESIDENCY ROLE AND TO COMMISSION.

17. FOR PARIS, LUXEMBOURG, ROME, THE HAGUE, AND EMBASSY BRUSSELS, SAME AS FOR DUBLIN, ADDING THAT SIMILAR APPROACH WILL BE MADE TO NON-EC ALLIES.

18. FOR OSLO. IN ADDITION TO OUTLINING OUR GENERAL POSITION ALONG LINES REQUESTED OF USEC, YOU MAY NOTE THAT WHILE WE SHARE SOME OF NORWAY'S GOALS ON CONSIDERATION OF TBAP AT ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING, WE HAVE NOTED INCREASING APPREHENSION AMONG SOME OF THE ALLIES OVER CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PROPOSED TBAP CONVENTION. THE US ALSO WILL WISH TO STUDY IN DETAIL MANY RAMIFICATIONS OF ANY POSSIBLE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION, AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT THERE IS SUFFICIENT ROOM FOR COMPROMISE IN THE NORDIC DRAFT NOT TO ENDANGER NEEDLESSLY POSSIBILITY OF HLM ON ENVIRONMENT. YOU SHOULD INFORM NORWEGIANS WE ARE APPROACHING OTHER ALLIES.

19. FOR REYKJAVIK, ATHENS, ANKARA AND LISBON. PLEASE CONVEY OUR BASIC POSITION AS WE WILL BE PRESENTING IT CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10 STATE 079059

TO EC COMMISSION, AND NOTE OUR PARALLEL APPROACH IN OTHER NATO CAPITALS.

20. FOR OTTAWA. IN ADDITION TO EXPLAINING OUR CURRENT THINKING (AS OUTLINED FOR USEC), PLEASE EMPHASIZE THAT WE ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN CANADIAN REACTIONS. FYI, WITH EXCEPTION OF POSSIBLE SECOND ENVIRONMENT TOPIC, CANADIAN AND U.S. VIEWS ARE VERY CLOSE.

21. FOR USNATO. PLEASE MAKE SEPARATE APPROACH TO EACH INDIVIDUAL ALLIANCE COUNTRY ALONG SAME LINES THAT EMBASSIES WILL BE MAKING IN RESPECTIVE CAPITALS.

22. FOR GENEVA. AT YOUR DISCRETION, YOU ARE OF COURSE AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS WITH INDIVIDUAL ALLIANCE REPRESENTATIVES OUR POLICY AS OUTLINED ABOVE, ALONG SAME LINES WITH EACH REP AS EMBASSIES WILL PURSUE IN RESPECTIVE CAPITALS. RE PARA 5 REF F, ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES WITH DOMESTIC AIR POLLUTION MONITORING PROGRAMS ARE TO PROVIDE INPUTS BEFORE END OF MARCH ON PARA 83 OF DOCUMENT E/ECE/936. WE WILL PROVIDE DEPARTMENT COMMENTS FOR MISSION AS SOON AS AVAILABLE. WE REGARD PARA 83, AND ELABORATIVE MATERIAL WHICH WE WILL PROVIDE, AS ESSENTIAL GUIDE FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION OF TBAP AT ANY HLM, REGARDLESS OF EVENTUAL FATE OF FRAMEWORK CONVENTION PROPOSAL.

23. FOR MOSCOW. SEPTEL FOLLOWS WITH CONTINGENCY
TALKING POINTS. VANCE

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PAGE 01 STATE 079059
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 079059

FOLLOWING RPEAT SECSTATE 079059 DATED MAR 28 ACTION
ALL NATO CAPITALS, DUBLIN, GENEVA, INFO BELGRADE, BERLIN, BUCHAREST,
BUDAPEST, MOSCOW, PRAGUE, SOFIA, WARSAW.

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 079059

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PAGE 02 STATE 079059

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MESSAGE REPORTS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS AND REQUESTS THAT ACTION ADDRESSEES APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS TO SEEK SUPPORT ON REACHING SOME DEGREE OF UNDERSTANDING ON THE PARAMETERS OF THE WESTERN POSITION. WE ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN CLARIFYING U.S. POLICY TO MEMBERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY WHICH WE UNDERSTAND WILL DECIDE ON ITS POSITION AT THE

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PAGE 03 STATE 079059

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PAGE 04 STATE 079059

LESSER EXTENT PERHAPS FRG, HAD SO FAR EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS. IN ADDITION TO CITING OUR GENERAL POSITION ON POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENT MEETING, (REF A AND PARAGRAPH 3 ABOVE), GOODBY SAID THAT U.S. RECOGNIZES THAT MANY COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE U.S., HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION ENVISAGED BY THE ORDICS AND STANOVNIK. HE NOTED THAT THESE PROBLEMS CAN BE ADDRESSED IN THE PLENARY ITSELF, IN THE EXTENSIVE PREPARATORY WORK THAT WOULD BE NECESSARY FOR A HLM, AND DURING THE 1979 REVIEW OF ANY DECISION IN PRINCIPLE TO HOLD A MEETING. END FYI.

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 079059

SUBSTANCES, GIVEN DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER FORA IN THE WEST ON THIS SUBJECT AT THIS TIME. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE EC AGREES, AND WOULD PROPOSE TO LIMIT THE TOPIC TO TOXIC WASTES ALONE. THE U.S. STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT TOXIC WASTES IN NO WAY MEETS THE CRITERIA ESTABLISHED AT THE LAST PLENARY, AND INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THIS SPHERE TO DATE HAVE NOT PROGRESSED TO THE POINT JUSTIFYING DISCUSSING IT AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL. IN ADDITION, THE ISSUE IS BEING ADEQUATELY ADDRESSED AT THE SUB-REGIONAL LEVEL (SUCH AS THE BALTIC AREA DUMPING CONVENTION) AND

DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE OF INTEREST TO THE REGION AS A WHOLE. THE U.S. CONTINUES TO BELIEVE THAT ONLY ONE TOPIC -- TBAP -- MEETS THE ESTABLISHED CRITERIA. MOREOVER, TO INSURE CONCRETE RESULTS -- OUR CONDITION FOR AGREEING TO A MEETING -- WE WOULD OPPOSE A VACUOUS MULTIPLE-TOPIC MEETING.

8. U.S. VIEWS ON MODALITIES FOR ANY ENVIRONMENTAL HLM HAVE BEEN CONVEYED TO THE EC -- REF A -- AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT EC OPINIONS ON THIS SUBJECT CLOSELY PARALLEL OURS -- REF B.

9. ENERGY. FYI ONLY. SIGNALS ON THE VIEWS AMONG THE NINE ON A POSSIBLE ENERGY MEETING ARE MIXED. THE FRG HAS YET TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS WITHIN ITS OWN GOVERNMENT (REF D). THE U.K. HAS NOW EXPRESSED INTEREST IN A POSSIBLE ENERGY MEETING. THE DEPARTMENT BELIEVES THAT, AT LEAST IN PART, THE SUDDEN BRITISH INTEREST (AND REVERSAL OF PAST POLICY) TO BE ORE FORTHCOMING ON ENERGY IS A TACTIC DESIGNED TO SHIFT ATTENTION FROM OR SUBSTITUTE FOR A POSSIBLE MEETING ON TBAP. ACTING UNDER INSTRUCTIONS, THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN WASHINGTON APPROACHED THE DEPARTMENT "IN CONFIDENCE" TO EXPLAIN ITS VIEWS AND SEEK U.S. REACTIONS. U.K. REPS SAID THAT HMG IS NOW FAVORABLY INCLINED TO CONSIDER POSITIVELY AN ENERGY MEETING (WITH CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 079059

ADEQUATE ECE SAFEGUARDS) AS A MEANS OF OBTAINING MORE INFORMATION FROM THE EAST. GOODBY REPLIED BY GIVING OUR CURRENT THINKING ON POSSIBLE ENERGY HLM (PARA 10 BELOW). END FYI.

10. ENERGY HLM MUST BE EXAMINED IN BOTH TECHNICAL AND POLITICAL (CSCE) CONTEXTS⁹ WE INFORMED ALLIES AT BELGRADE THAT IF CONSENSUS DEVELOPED WITHIN ALLIANCE (SPECIFICALLY

THE EC-NINE) TO RECOMMEND CONSIDERATION OF ENERGY HLM TO ECE, WITH ALL APPROPRIATE SAFEGUARDS, U.S. WOULD NOT HAVE BLOCKED SUCH A MOVE, VIEWING IT (AS DID OUR ALLIES) AS CONCESSION WEST COULD MAKE IN RETURN FOR SOMETHING FROM SOVIETS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AT BELGRADE. BUT CSCE

CONCLUDED WITHOUT ANY REFERENCE IN FINAL DOCUMENT TO PROPOSED BREZHNEV CONGRESSES -- AND WITHOUT APPROPRIATE CONCESSIONS FROM THE EAST. EXAMINING POSSIBLE ENERGY HLM ON ITS OWN MERITS, U.S. STILL FAILS TO SEE ADVANTAGE TO WEST IN CONCEDING TO SOVIETS THE MEETING THEY WANT THE MOST. WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT SOVIETS WOULD NECESSARILY BE ANY MORE FORTHCOMING WITH INFORMATION. IN FACT, IN EUROPEAN ENERGY BALANCE STUDY NOW UNDERWAY IN ECE, SOVIETS HAVE BEEN NOTICEABLY RELUCTANT TO PROVIDE REQUIRED DATA.(FYI ONLY. GOODBY HINTED, WITHOUT BEING EXPLICIT, THAT CARROT OF ENERGY HLM MIGHT BE USEFUL TO HOLD IN RESERVE IN POSSIBLE CONNECTION WITH 1980 MADRID CSCE CONFERENCE. END FYI.) NEVERTHELESS, IF EC-9 AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES THAT SUCH A CONFERENCE MIGHT RESULT IN TANGIBLE BENEFITS TO THE WEST SUFFICIENT TO OFFSET CONCESSION WE WOULD BE MAKING TO MOSCOW POST-BELGRADE, U.S. WILLING TO HEAR THEIR ARGUMENTS AND REEXAMINE MATTER.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 079059

11. ACTION REQUESTED. DRAWING ON THIS MESSAGE AS NOTED BELOW, ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE REQUESTED TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS TO CONVEY U.S. POSITION. USING TEXT IN QUOTES IN REF A, EMBASSIES IN CAPITALS (EXCEPT COPENHAGEN) SHOULD LEAVE WRITTEN OUTLINE OF U.S. POSITION ON POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENT MEETING,"IN CONFIDENCE." HOST GOVERNMENT VIEWS ON U.S. POSITION WOULD BE WELCOME. MORE SPECIFIC REQUESTS FOR EACH MISSION GIVEN BELOW.

12. FOR USEC. PLEASE THANK COMMISSION OFFICIALS FOR THEIR FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE SO FAR AND WILLINGNESS TO EXCHANGE VIEWS. IN ADDITION TO POINTS ALREADY MADE IN INFORMAL PAPER LEFT WITH COMMISSION PRIOR TO MARCH 13 EC PERM REPS MEETING, MISSION REQUESTED TO CONFIRM TO COMMISSION AND DANISH EC PRESIDENCY REPRESENTATIVES THAT U.S. UNDERSTANDING OF EC VIEWS ON POSSIBLE TRANSPORTATION CONFERENCE IS ACCURATE (AS OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH TWO) AND TO RELAY U.S. POSITION (WITHOUT CITING U.K. APPROACH TO US OR POSSIBILITY OF USING SUCH A HLM AS INCENTIVE FOR MADRID) ON ENERGY CONFERENCE, AS SET FORTH IN PARAGRAPH TEN ABOVE. DRAWING ON PARAGRAPHS SIX AND SEVEN, MISSION REQUESTED TO REITERATE U.S. CONCERNS ON ADDITIONAL TOPICS UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE EC. YOU MAY INFORM THEM WE HAVE MADE SIMILAR APPROACH TO DANISH PRESIDENCY IN COPENHAGEN AND TO INDIVIDUAL MEMBER STATES.

13. FOR COPENHAGEN. YOU SHOULD MAKE SAME POINTS TO DANES, IN THEIR EC PRESIDENCY CAPACITY, AND INFORM THEM THAT WE HAVE MADE A SIMILAR APPROACH TO COMMISSION AND IN EC MEMBER STATE CAPITALS. YOU MAY ALSO SAY THAT WE ARE

INFORMING OTHER NATO ALLIES OF OUR POSITION.

14. FOR LONDON. PLEASE EXPRESS OUR APPRECIATION TO U.K.
FOR INFORMING US OF ITS CURRENT THINKING ON THE HLM'S.
YOU SHOULD REPEAT TO HMG IN LONDON WHAT WE TOLD
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 079059

U.K. REPS HERE ON ENVIRONMENT (PARAGRAPHS FOUR, SIX AND
SEVEN) AND ENERGY (PARAGRAPH 10) MEETINGS. EMBASSY
SHOULD AGAIN REITERATE THAT TBAP TOPIC COULD RESULT IN
VALUABLE INTERCHANGE AND THAT RESULT OF DISCUSSION COULD
HAVE MANY POSSIBLE OUTCOMES, NOT ONLY CONVENTION AS
PUSHED BY NORDICS AND STANOVNIK. U.S. DOES NOT BELIEVE

THAT SPECIFIC CONCERNS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF POSSIBLE
TBAP HIGH-LEVEL MEETING SHOULD PREVENT WEST FROM AGREEING
TO TAKE DECISION IN PRINCIPLE AT ECE PLENARY, SINCE
INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THIS FIELD HAVE REACHED POINT
WHERE HLM COULD BE GENUINELY BENEFICIAL. PLEASE INFORM
HMG THAT US LOOKS FORWARD TO DISCUSSING DETAILS OF
POSSIBLE ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING WITH U.K. BEFORE, DURING
AND AFTER PLENARY.

15. FOR BONN. GIVEN CURRENT STATE OF FRG POSITION --
OR LACK THEREOF -- ON ENERGY HLM, EMBASSY SHOULD CONFINE
REMARKS ON THIS SUBJECT TO NOTING THAT U.S. DOES NOT
AT PRESENT TIME SEE ANY TANGIBLE BENEFIT FROM MAKING
THIS CONCESSION TO SOVIETS, BUT THAT IF EC-NINE DECIDE
DIFFERENTLY, WE LOOK FORWARD TO HEARING THEIR VIEWS.
YOU MAY CITE ARGUMENTS (PARAGRAPH 4) WE ARE MAKING IN
LONDON RE POSSIBLE TBAP TOPIC AT ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING
(WITHOUT MENTIONING OUR TALKS WITH U.K. IN WASHINGTON),
AND NOTE IT COULD HAVE VARIOUS OUTCOMES OTHER THAN
COMPREHENSIVE CONVENTION FAVORED BY NORDICS AND STANOVNIK.
YOU MAY SAY WE ARE CONVEYING OUR GENERAL VIEWS ON
CONFERENCES TO COMMISSION IN BRUSSELS, DANES IN
PRESIDENCY ROLE, AND OTHER EC MEMBER CAPITALS, AND ARE
ALSO INFORMING NON-EC ALLIANCE MEMBERS OF OUR POSITION.

16. FOR DUBLIN. PLEASE CONVEY OUR GENERAL POSITION AS
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 079059

WE WILL BE PRESENTING IT TO EC COMMISSION AND NOTE WE
ARE MAKING SIMILAR APPROACHES IN OTHER EC CAPITALS, TO
DANES IN THEIR PRESIDENCY ROLE AND TO COMMISSION.

17. FOR PARIS, LUXEMBOURG, ROME, THE HAGUE, AND EMBASSY
BRUSSELS, SAME AS FOR DUBLIN, ADDING THAT SIMILAR
APPROACH WILL BE MADE TO NON-EC ALLIES.

18. FOR OSLO. IN ADDITION TO OUTLINING OUR GENERAL POSITION ALONG LINES REQUESTED OF USEC, YOU MAY NOTE THAT WHILE WE SHARE SOME OF NORWAY'S GOALS ON CONSIDERATION OF TBAP AT ENVIRONMENTAL MEETING, WE HAVE NOTED INCREASING APPREHENSION AMONG SOME OF THE ALLIES OVER CERTAIN ASPECTS OF PROPOSED TBAP CONVENTION. THE US ALSO WILL WISH TO STUDY IN DETAIL MANY RAMIFICATIONS OF ANY POSSIBLE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION, AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT THERE IS SUFFICIENT ROOM FOR COMPROMISE IN THE NORDIC DRAFT NOT TO ENDANGER NEEDLESSLY POSSIBILITY OF HLM ON ENVIRONMENT. YOU SHOULD INFORM NORWEGIANS WE ARE APPROACHING OTHER ALLIES.

19. FOR REYKJAVIK, ATHENS, ANKARA AND LISBON. PLEASE CONVEY OUR BASIC POSITION AS WE WILL BE PRESENTING IT TO EC COMMISSION, AND NOTE OUR PARALLEL APPROACH IN OTHER NATO CAPITALS.

20. FOR OTTAWA. IN ADDITION TO EXPLAINING OUR CURRENT THINKING (AS OUTLINED FOR USEC), PLEASE EMPHASIZE THAT WE ARE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN CANADIAN REACTIONS. FYI, WITH EXCEPTION OF POSSIBLE SECOND ENVIRONMENT TOPIC, CANADIAN AND U.S. VIEWS ARE VERY CLOSE.

21. FOR USNATO. PLEASE MAKE SEPARATE APPROACH TO EACH INDIVIDUAL ALLIANCE COUNTRY ALONG SAME LINES THAT EMBASSIES WILL BE MAKING IN RESPECTIVE CAPITALS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10 STATE 079059

22. FOR GENEVA. AT YOUR DISCRETION, YOU ARE OF COURSE AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS WITH INDIVIDUAL ALLIANCE REPRESENTATIVES OUR POLICY AS OUTLINED ABOVE, ALONG SAME LINES WITH EACH REP AS EMBASSIES WILL PURSUE IN RESPECTIVE CAPITALS. RE PARA 5 REF F, ALL FEDERAL AGENCIES WITH DOMESTIC AIR POLLUTION MONITORING PROGRAMS ARE TO PROVIDE INPUTS BEFORE END OF MARCH ON PARA 83 OF DOCUMENT E/ECE/936. WE WILL PROVIDE DEPARTMENT COMMENTS FOR MISSION AS SOON AS AVAILABLE. WE REGARD PARA 83, AND ELABORATIVE MATERIAL WHICH WE WILL PROVIDE, AS ESSENTIAL GUIDE FOR MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION OF TBAP AT ANY HLM, REGARDLESS OF EVENTUAL FATE FRAMEWORK CONVENTION PROPOSAL.

23. FOR MOSCOW. SEPTTEL FOLLOWS WITH CONTINGENCY TALKING POINTS. VANCE UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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